2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FTT Yao FTT

remained human flesh.' They said that they had a strong headman and that they could trust him; he was a good headman without witchcraft. If he had been a sorcerer they would have kept wedding him until the next morning.

About two hours after sunrise the people gathered and started dancing. At about this time Cimombo was brought out of the hut and put in the grass shed which had been built for the occasion. This was the climax of the ceremony.[2] He sat on a chair in the grass shed with one of his two wives on either side. Makoka then started a chant, exhorting the visitors to come to throw pennies at Cimombo's feet. Some of the people there made speeches about the type of behaviour they would expect from him. Then Nyambi arrived from the court village in a rickshaw. When the noise had subsided he told the people that if they disobeyed Cimombo it meant that they disobeyed the chief. He emphasized the importance of the rank of the new headman. After the speech he presented 12s. to Cimombo which was received on his behalf by Nciombo. Nyambi then left and the ceremony was over, but the people remained to dance and drink beer.

This description of the procedure following the 'coming out of the hut' is somewhat sketchy. The interaction of the headman and his villagers on this formal and ceremonial occasion is of great interest and importance. During the entire ceremony the headman adopts the pose which is appropriate for any Yao initiand. His hands are on his lap or on the arms of the chair and his head is bowed forward with eyes downcast. He neither speaks nor moves. His attendants, when necessary, wipe the sweat off his face or chase away the flies. The other occupants of the mat, who may be his wives, and sometimes his heir, adopt similar postures. In contrast to this, is the behaviour of the villagers who run about shouting wildly, the men discharging muzzle-loading guns, and women ululating in the typical Central African way.

Before the new headman comes out of the hut his mentors

[1] This is a test based on the witchlore of the Yao, who believe that sorcerers kill relatives with magic and then share out the flesh of their victims with fellow-sorcerers in ghoulish feasts.

[2] Called the 'coming out from the hut' (*kukupoka nyumba*). It is of course the first public appearance of the headman in his newly assumed status.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT? Yao FT?

632 impress on him the difficulty of his position, and when he is
taken outside some of this is repeated in public. At Nkaselenga's
installation ceremony in December 1946, which I attended, the
following incidents took place. Shortly after he was taken out
632 of the hut, Cigunda, one of the officiating headmen, said:
633 "Younger brothers of Nkaselenga, are you happy that Kambidi[1]
has an elder brother? You women, have you cooked beer so
that you can have your village headman?" In reply the men and
women clapped their hands and a few came forward to throw
some coppers into a cloth at Nkaselenga's feet. Cigunda went
on to say, 'From to-day no woman will be impudent to the chief,
because you are all of the same womb. All you men listen, only
this man is your village headman!' Cigunda now turned to
Nkaselenga who did not change his posture in the least. 'You
village headman Nkaselenga, don't listen to what your wife says,
because she will fight with your sisters and tell you that they have
been cursing you. You should make enquiries when you have
heard these things because you are a big man [i.e. important
headman]. From to-day onwards you are a big man. Every
person will be trying to spoil your name by saying that you are a
bad man. You need to be patient and easy-going.' Turning
to the public, Cigunda said, 'Even you husbands [*akamwini*] do
not listen to what your wives say if they try to traduce the village
headman, because some husbands can break the village.' There-
upon one husband got up [*sic*] looking around for a penny, found he
did not have one, and with much ostentation borrowed one from
a fellow-husband sitting next to him. He then came forward to
where Nkaselenga was sitting and said, 'You say some husbands
can break a village. Is that true? But husbands build the
villages! They can't break the villages.' Then very deliber-
ately he threw the penny into the cloth at the headman's feet and
went back to his seat. His speech was greeted with acclamation
from the husbands. Cigunda said nothing after that and the
ceremony was over.

632 In September 1948, during the installation ceremony of Maputa,
633 one of Kawinga's less important headmen in the northern
part of his area, the significance of the relationship of the head-
man to his relatives for the continuation of the village as a
whole, was brought out more clearly. After the headman was

[1] A personal brother of Nkaselenga.

J. Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT? Yao FT?

brought out of the hut, as always, songs were sung and speeches were made. One of the songs was : 'A tree when it grows, grows with its branches.'[1] This is a reference to the dependence of the village headman upon the increase of his relatives for an increase in his rank. The Yao compare kinship with a tree, the component segments of the matrilineal lineage (the tree) being the branches. Then one of the officiating headmen mentioned that there were many sisters' sons of the old Mapata but that Kawinga and Chiwalo had selected the one on the chair to be the headman. He then exhorted the others neither to be jealous nor to resort to sorcery, but to exalt the name[2] that it might live long. This was followed by a song which introduced a second theme, 'A husband however rich he becomes here, cannot climb high.'[3] This song emphasizes that the uxorilocal husbands of the village can never achieve rank outside their own matrilineal villages however rich they are. The officiating headman then went on to say that some women rebuke their husbands when they speak subversively, but others side with them against the village headman. He told the husbands and women that they were wrong to do this and that they must desist. After this followed a public rebuke of the village as a whole. One of the younger brothers of the new headman pointed out that when the mother of the previous Mapata had died she had been buried in the graveyard and not in the village. He rebuked the villagers and told them that, when the present chief died, he should be buried in the village. A man who had been charged with neglect by his wife (his cross-cousin) paid the headman the compensation which he had refused to pay to her. One of the headmen then exhorted the villagers to respect their headman; to send someone to accompany him on his journeys to see to his wants; never to allow the headman to carry a gift he had been given, and so on. The ceremony ended when Kapalowa, who was representing the chief, hinted that Mapata might be allowed to wear a scarlet headband in the near future.

Village headmen represented the chief at Nkaceleng's and

[1] *Mtwe pankukula akuwa kumanyanki.*

[2] *Kawaya lina*—to curse the name to climb.

[3] *Tonde, nsale, akamwini nanilile mano ngakwela lai.* Tonde is the word for billy goat and its use here emphasizes the procreative functions of the husband in the village.

When the sun sets, all the boys to undergo the ceremonies (watd) together with their sponsors or guardians, shamans, (ashamanal dag,) are called together to the village open-space (pang'angal). The ashamanal attends his ward throughout the ceremony; he may be an elder brother, an uncle, or someone else who volunteers for the service.

The watd are lined up and headed by a "leader," watdlangalo, who is usually the most important boy, perhaps a relative of the chief; then they pass one by one in front of the chief who anoints each on the forehead with salapat from a small basket. As each boy passes, his mother runs up and throws into the basket a string of beads or nowadays small silver coins. When all have passed, the chief sends some near relative with the basket still containing some flour and the beads or money to the n'wishile who is waiting at Lapanda.

This is his signal to prepare to receive the watd; he dresses, and accompanied by drummers goes to meet the file of watd. The watd accompanied by their shamanal, their mothers and sisters, sing as they approach:

"Pangs lungs (angsag) ahahah tangis!"
"Let us go back, perhaps there is no ceremony!"

The n'wishile as he meets them sings:

"Anahidal gakaisa sama ramaka'an kalaka Kimaka lasisa salgal!"
"Why to come with them these children to have (a small drum) to come with it!"

and follows this in answer to the song of the watd with:

"Ka ahahi salangis, (Sagsag) Kam lami (Chorus) Mlangis sami!"
"To the village don't go back. Don't go back all!"

The watd now on the outskirts of Lapanda are formed into a ring, behind them their shamanal and behind them their mothers and sisters. Then the n'wishile leads the way to Lapanda singing:

"Likamka lga sakaskal"
"Spear of an elephant!"

Next, he calls all the mothers to form in two lines resting at right angles on Lapanda and sings to them:

"Kangaga kala gami kasi'ami kamagali alangal"
"The eagle fighted on the ground as in the air there is not your relationship!"

The n'wishile and his chief assistant each provided with a "tail" strike lightly on the basket which each woman has on her head; then each with a hand on the basket, they lift it down to the ground. Starting with the mother of the "leader," they go round to each mother in turn. The n'wishile then to the sound of drums and clapping by the women dances and runs round peeping into each basket exclaiming, "I see so and so in this basket!" saying sores, pores, swellings, women's peskeds and so on, after which the women take the baskets of food away to the boys' shelters. The n'wishile next sings:

"Ekpenyong, messenger for Ekpenyong, ekpin ajirijo, husband, messenger"
"I will go and bring my child - to Ekpenyong, where I am going home I had [illegible]"

and standing round he selects hold of one of the well and makes him sit down at Ekpenyong, continuing this until he has placed them all in a circle round Ekpenyong. He then sings a song about the little basket which the chief must kiss containing the remains of the whipped fowl:

"Ekwuk ekpere akwukkiya, ekpuk ekwuwuuk, ewuu!"
"Little basket the sorrow asks for it back, give me home, mother!"

The wife who has been waiting in his hut nearby brings him the basket. Holding it in his hands, he prays to the spirits of his ancestors and all the previous ancestors to whom his ancestors have belonged, invoking them and their descendants may go well.

Still holding the basket he begins to dance, singing:

"Ayakuk ekpenyi yuu!"
"Let them (us) scare fear them (Let us baptize them)!"

and dipping his right elbow into the basket he smears each round on the forehead with the whipped fowl. He then goes into his hut and fetches a bundle of purchased roots (which no woman may touch), medicine called nsibidi, that is, a medicine used for the edification properties. Holding the medicine between the palms of his uplifted hands, he starts singing:

"Edemisongo fruitpeople, messenger chief!"
"I cannot find out how to write this, we find (with) my brother-in-law!"

He is immediately surrounded by his assistants and the drummers, who dance round him, all holding their hands about his arm, after which he redistributes the bundle of medicine and puts a little on the tongue of each round, beginning with the leader. He then takes some sweet-beer made by the chief's wife and pouring it into his old medicine-gourd, he mixes in some nsibidi and gives some to each round to drink after which he sings:

"Amaaka! emeeke nsongk ye tongue, drinkdrips swallowdrink
"I've have drunk a mixture of water and native fear, of eating eggs
nsibidi pongpong, Amaaka, emeeke nsibidi medicine,
you stop now, you have drunk (but) I have passed water (to it),
wait(ed) Ashamaka!"
you thought to be shown!"

[300] Next he goes into his hut with the small basket containing the whipped and paints his assistant with the fear, a semicircle round the forehead, a line down the middle of the face, a band across the chest, a line down each arm with rings round the arms and forearms, and a line down the middle of the back. They go out again into the ring and while the m'middle sings:

* This may be a reference to search, the nsibidi say.

"Kwanyo kudzi shinga wandi ku-nkwala kwandila kwafwa"
"The bird eats fire boys to grave as-a-gang as-die"

the assistant with the basket hid in his mouth sets the feet of the weapon, a medium sized board with brilliant blue body and orange head which hides its head up and down. The assistant has on his belly and hides his head and shoulders up and down, tilting himself on his hands. (Children often clap their hands as they watch the weapon bobbing up and down. "She a bit-master" and call out to it to eat him (or them.) The assistant then stands up to the basket and puts the basket on his head. Bowing his face to the ground for a moment, he again takes the basket and places it on the head of the next round and so on all around.

After this the men go and sit near the bonfire which is not yet lighted, while the n'wimbi sings to the women:

"Kwandi nakwisha nakwisha".
"The bread Let him walk a witch."

and the women give him a basket of beans with which he makes sitting movements, singing: "Shall I throw them away, shall I put them in the cooking pot?" while the women sing.

His assistants are then told to go and light the bonfire. He himself goes to his hut and places his "tulo" in the adjacent basket, and carrying it to the bonfire, he throws some of the fire on the fire, " to regulate the heat." This is the sign to begin the dancing which goes on all night while the men be round the fire, each lying with his head on the waist of the next, the leader in front.

In the early morning of the second day, the n'wimbi holding his " tulo " in his hands runs excitedly over all the reclining men and facing the same way, runs back, after which the boys are called.

He sings a song:

"Mwaiwa kil 'ye kwakwanga"
"The red ants them bite!"

and he pretends to pick them off the boys. After this, he sings:

"Kukwani kunga nakukulapwa (nakukulapwa)?"
"Pah eBwala little mother?"

as he goes to each mould and throws his " tulo " into the boy's hands, receives it back and then puts it on his head till the mother places a role on his head which is the payment made to the assistant. *Ku-kapwa* = to come; *ngakapwa* = not at home; *nakukulapwa* = is it not at home, is it not present? The meaning of the phrase in the song is, " Is your mother not here to pay the fee? " *Mukukulapwa* is a pun on *nakukulapwa*, " little mother." This is followed by another song:

"Kapukulipwa, upwa unga nakuka"
"The little house, you jump from run to hut?"

[illegible] as he climbs a tree with his back to the trunk; at the top he hangs by his legs and looks down on the sound, his assistants doing the same. Coming down he rests to his feet, throwing his "tail" into the pit and watching it again, he enters.

This is about also c.s.; all rest till about dawn o'clock, the well concealed eating food cooked by their mothers in the darkness. About dawn o'clock, the n'wimbi takes a big gourd and pushing his "tail" into it covered with a yellow cloth, gives it to his assistant who carries it on his head and follows him to a pool of water, accompanied by all the women except very young ones who have not borne children. On arriving there to go "wash hunting."

At the pool he enters the water with his assistants round him, except the assistant with the gourd, who stands on the bank. The n'wimbi makes movements as of hunting for crabs in the water singing:

"Chimangala [illegible] ngoli [illegible]"
"There must be hunting otherwise I should have had to eat porridge [illegible]"

He pretends to catch a crab and his hands are immediately grasped by his assistants in the water who all help him to convey it to the gourd on the "tail" is taken out of it.

The crowd then returns to Lupembe to enact the wembemde ceremony. Wembemde is a representation of an animal made of bark on a frame-work covered with wool and painted with four in spiral markings, hence the name (wembemde is a part of a spiral shell from the Zambezi coast much prized by natives as an ornament). The animal is really the white antelope with horns and the n'wimbi's "tails" in place; there is a man inside it. It is made perhaps a mile away and then brought near to Lupembe and placed in a cleared area.

The n'wimbi on his return from wash-hunting has gone into his hut and put on his full regalia; then, accompanied by his drummers, he comes out and is immediately followed by the wall and the rest of the crowd; knowing where the wembemde will be put, he leads the people in the opposite direction calling out to them to look out for the antelope. They, of course, all look in the wrong direction, so when he knows wembemde is in place, he stands around and sings, "There is the animal!"

In the old days the chief was present for this, a platform being built for him. When the wembemde appeared, he gave his hunters much powder (no bullets) and they shot at the animal. The animal would fall as if hit and the n'wimbi would approach to skin it on his knees, but it would promptly get up and charge, to be driven off by the crowd, whereupon it would run away into the bush.

Lots are then cast by the n'wimbi, using a tortoise shell stuffed with medicine. The wall all stand in a circle with their assistants behind them, while the n'wimbi goes to the leader and throws the tortoise at the boy's chest. If it sticks there, all is well and he pretends to wash boy. Should the shell not stick on the boy's chest, it pretends it took to that individual and he has to be dealt with further. The n'wimbi, holding his "tail," and his assistant holding a horn of medicine, stand back to back, with the boy between

them. They then rub the boy up and down with their hands, after which the unknown throws the bone on the boy's chest. If it sticks, the initiate is overcome and the women still call joyfully with their tongues; if it drops to the ground, evil is foretold and love-feelings are in the boy's love or Kingsale are whispered round. He is given further medicine against the predicted evil, but love will not again be cast about him.

Next the *n'wimbi* sings:

"*Kwenkulove wembi, wenjibi ngwenzu, jibe ngwenji*
"The one who weeps here, (you) father it will bring, come that I may show him,
wenkulove wembi, wenjibi ngwenzu!"
the one who weeps here, (you) father it will bring! (Chorus) "*Aweh, jweh!*"

Aweh is a word meaning "shining up in all directions" and refers to the hair.

One assistant holds a pot of water, a second, a leaf of the *ngwenbu* tree, and the *n'wimbi* a razor. They approach the healer; water is rubbed on the forehead by the first assistant, the second smears the place with the leaf. The *n'wimbi* then removes a little tuft of hair from the boy's forehead and puts it in the boy's left palm, followed by the next portion from the left hand, and a tuft of hair from the back of the head. This is done to each round in turn after which he sings:

"*Tsenuje Kpakwenukiki*"
"Let us shave them" (he-palm-*n'wimbi*, to him by *n'wimbi*)

as he walks round them, after which the boys go to their mothers who are allowed to trim the hair on the forehead in any way they like. This may take ten minutes, after which they return, still holding their hair and nails in their hands. As they return, the *n'wimbi*, throwing his "tail" under the left arm, starts off, all the rest falling in behind him, and thus he leads the way into the bush accompanied only by the rest, singing:

"*Kwoli he mubi wenuki*"
"The Kwoli make the mubi tree smooth"

He marches through the forest until he finds *shibale*, a small dome-shaped ant hill about a foot high. He carries his "tail" under his arm and a small knife's horn of medicine in his hand. Arrived at the *shibale*, he chips the top off the ant hill with the horn and his "tail," scrapes a hole in the exposed surface with the horn, and then smears this hollow with medicine from the horn. The healer then approaches and drops his hair and nail parings little by little into the hole, followed by each round in turn; each immediately turns about and never looks back on the ant hill. When all have done so, the *n'wimbi* sets the top of the ant hill back into its place, having the "tail" and medicine horn in his mouth; he then turns about and becomes the last of the file as they march back to *Lupunda* while he sings the same song as before.

This particular ceremony is the most sacred of the Ungaga as it is known only to the wali. It is the sign of burying the past of childhood. If another *n'wimbi* could find such

[illegible] a plow, he would take part of it and he sometimes used salt in his own medicine." he makes him a more powerful n'nimbilu."

●533 534 On the way back, the n'nimbilu takes a plow of bamboo in his right hand and when he comes to a sijundu sapling, the boys all surround him in a ring; with the "salt" in his left hand he strikes the sijundu sapling, and as it rebounds, he strikes it with the bamboo; while the sapling swings backwards and forwards, he sings:

"Ejowa ejowasi ... wiwi ni sijundu'
"Nothing I have struck together the bamboo and the sijundu tree
kakwidzi' ... ewandi kakwidzi'"
always he yourself"

The n'nimbilu takes both his "salts." Holding them in his left hand against the sijundu sapling, the bushy part of the salt appearing, and in the other hand a stick ornamented with beeswax, he rubs the sapling at a point just below the "salts," still singing the song given above. The stick is said to represent an ox. After this, he takes a reed and cuts off the top of the sapling. Then all the boys seize the sapling and wash the bark off without cutting it anywhere, while the n'nimbilu continues to sing. The bark he puts in his trough and sings as he jumps about:

"Tsijundu ngangi, (Sidungi) ukajidzu gakidzi'"
"I shall kill him the pit, jumping about here and there!"

When they arrive at *Lupundu*, the n'nimbilu ornaments grow in his own hut to make string from the bark, the boys to the place where *Lupundu* is made. This is at about three in the afternoon.

When the string is ready, the n'nimbilu takes it to cross roads, plaits it into necklaces, and anoints them with medicine for the mali. On his return to his own house, the mothers have cooked porridge for the boys, and the baskets of food are got ready at *Lupundu*. The n'nimbilu then stops to and sings:

"Fala (ajo) wiwi ... ... wanga wakwangwidzagwi'"
"(A) little morsel (less) enemy children, mother, all are to be left!"

As he does so, he takes some food in his hand and puts it into the mouth of the basket, and so on all round, while all the people keep at a distance. Then with a hoe he makes a small mound where *ekiag'wanda-ng'wanda* will be erected and puts on it a little of the whipped from his horns. Here he seats the basket and round him sit all the other mali. The n'nimbilu then sings:

"Tiwanda ekawa ekanga kila kwakajo'ka ekawangada ngwangi'"
"I will take all beads my today where they go to it seems they will never come back!"

* *Kwada*, to whet a knife.

He collects from the boys' necks the beads they are wearing, filling them all with his medicine horn; these are all his perquisites, to be sent off to his house. He then starts singing:

"*Kukilongolo Lopondo ngoma ngokongoma gokolo kokoumongo, nokoko*"
"The leader (of) *Lopondo* (is) an ordered big words killing with a spear, tail!"

This means to the leader's relatives that the boy is worth a spear; one is promptly brought and leaned against the leader; the n'nimbilo steps up and taking it, breaks the spearhead and sends it towards his house. He then sings:

"*Kijipiko nuki kokongo kunjoko nuki*
"Things which are put to lose up against cross little anger cross to lose things up against cross
kopondo kunjoko"
little cross !"

The relatives then bring all kinds of presents and lean them against the boys; these are the perquisites of the dancing men. The *nuki* go away to eat now with their elsewhere behind the shelters. The elsewhere up any food that is left in heaven, for later use. They then return to the roughly-made *shing'undong'undo* where the n'nimbilo awaits them. The *nuki* stand in a circle round him and outside these in a ring, the parents, while the leader is set on the *shing'undong'undo* mound.

The n'nimbilo sings:

"*Awonjini ndongo yo nini'yo kopani ninuki, nokongo, nokinongo*"
"You of the bullock hair (lit. feathers) on the head you put their nokongo tail out."

as he then goes around and touches each *nuki* with his "tail." The idea here is that the *nuki* with their on their foreheads resemble buffaloes which have white patches on their horns, and they will therefore be as strong as these beasts in the bush whither they are about to go.

The n'nimbilo then runs away to his hut and breaking a hole through the back, makes for the bush. The assistants know this disappearance is the signal of his departure for *Nilapala*. This happens about four o'clock. All exclaim "*Aaaah!*"; (to exclaim thus is *kwamira*, "to exclaim with apprehension.") The assistants head off in the same direction, followed by the elsewhere and their *nuki*, while the mothers of the boys who may never see them again, throw sticks on the path as they run away as the sign of forgetting their sons for the time being.

All the men will also accompany the *nuki* until they find the n'nimbilo. He having left the chief's basket at *Lopondo* has brought some of the *nkopani* with him in his own basket. One of the men brings a gourd full of water; the n'nimbilo pours some of the water into his basket of flour and gives a drink of this first to the leader and then to each *nuki*

88| in turn. After drinking, they sit down while the n'mchilo gives instructions that here they sleep tonight. He takes his basket and starts to run back to *Lupondo*, singing:

● [533 539]

"Ee	tunjile	pakulaya	nakumbuja	ku *M'unde!*"
"Where	we went to	mustere		to *M'unde!*"

Then going to the back of his hut, he enters and takes a piece of bark left there bent up into a dish containing medicine which has been put in by an assistant. This assistant holds in his hand the neck of one of the fowls which was killed at *Lupondo*. The n'mchilo washes his face and chest with medicine to cleanse his eyes and then leans forward to the assistant and bites a piece off the neck of the fowl which the assistant holds out, and eats it. This is *ku-kamiva*, "to taste a small piece," often the liver, before starting to eat the flesh; this is generally done by the most important person. The n'mchilo has been followed by his assistants who do as he has done. They all follow him next round the cooking place for the boys at *Lupondo*, each standing for a moment on the stones which have supported the cooking pots, while the women sit looking on coldly. He begins to dance and the women join in, singing *likwata*. He then calls the parents of the *wali* and leads them to where the bonfire was. There assembled, he tells them they must not bathe, and that tomorrow morning early, porridge is to be sent to the *wali* which must be prepared by a woman who has had connection with her husband and who has not washed her hands; this is supposed to make the boys strong. Early in the morning, the husband, who likewise has not washed his hands, carries the food to the *wali* and personally gives portions to each boy to eat.

88| 304 When they have partaken of the food, the circumcision is performed by the n'mchilo who has returned the same morning early. The *wali* one by one, commencing with the leader, go forward a little to the place where the n'mchilo awaits them. Each *mwali* is accompanied by his *nkamusi* who commonly says, "Come along and you shall eat of the honey made by the bumblebee." Such honey is very sweet and called *mamu*. This refers in sarcastic terms to the pain the boy is about to undergo. The boy squats down, leaning back on his *nkamusi* who supports him, while the medicine-man, having warned the lad not to cry out, performs the circumcision with a small knife called *chiwembo*. It is a triangular knife with one cutting edge and a handle produced from the opposite corner. Properly the Yao method is, I believe, only to nick the free margin of the prepuce just to the right of the middle line near the frenum, but complete circumcision is now commonly practised, possibly as the result of Swahili influence. In this case, the prepuce is seized and held by the fingers, and division made by a circular incision without using a clamp or forked stick. [412] A dressing of charcoal and oil may be applied or medicine is chewed in the mouth and the saliva spat on the wound and the boy sent on to rest under some convenient tree. [753]

88| [751] When all the *wali* have been circumcised, they are gathered together in one place and the n'mchilo dividing them into groups, puts on the neck of the leader of each group a necklace made of plaited bark from the *mpindo* tree;[1] these necklaces contain medicine against all evils - witchcraft, attack by lions, etc.

3:Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

some sweetbeer into a big gourd. These his assistants will carry away, together with a hoe, to *Lupanda*, whither the *m'mbwila* now goes to remain while brewing goes on for four days.

During their stay at *Lupanda*, the *m'mbwila* and his assistants live on flour and chickens begged from the mothers of the *unli*. On the first day nothing is done; on the second day they begin making the *lupopo* or figures in *relief* of animals, etc., to be described later; *Nanimpanzi* is made this day. On the third day the other figures are made and on the fourth day *ching'undung'unda*. Into the ground where *ching'undung'unda* is made, some of the strong beer, known as *ngongo*, which is added to the flour and water mixture on the fourth day as signified by *ku-kolejola*, is poured by the *m'mbwila*.

When the work at *Lupanda* is finished, the *m'mbwila* carrying his "tail" leads his assistants wearing their feather headdresses back to the chief's village singing:

"*Ninguhile nkuse kunga akulejola ku muzi, mulungu achamazi*
"I must go and see how perhaps they have mixed at the village, ancestors oh dear!
Chilawila chamajazi ngulgu amu nikapamila mila!"
The going out of a day or two ago if I had not taken tobacco I would have died of hunger!"

Arriving at the village where the brewing is going on, the *m'mbwila* takes a cup and putting his "tails" on the ground, he dips into the pot of beer belonging to the leader's mother, pours some on his "tail," and then drinks some. Then he puts more into a gourd, together with some medicine, and going up to the *chief* who sits in his verandah overlooking the brewing place, he kneels, and first drinking a little himself, he presents the drinking gourd of beer to the *chief* who drinks and then returns the cup to the *m'mbwila* who finishes it. Picking up his "tail," he then goes straight back to *Lupanda* while his assistants with some men nominated by the *chief* go round choosing pots of beer in turn. The assistants choose by striking a pot with a medicine-tail. These pots of beer are then put aside to cool, while moderate drinking begins in the chief's house. This takes place in the morning of the day on which the *unli* will return from *Ndapale* to *Lupanda*, and in the afternoon, the people from the village will go out to *Lupanda* to take part in the return. The return is made about sunset.

The *unli* at *Ndapale* are put into their shelters and the doorways barricaded. At sunset or just after, the place is set on fire and the *unli* have to charge their way through the bark of the shelters. They then form in line, wearing a slip of bark cloth round their loins and over this, a kind of kilt called *mapejiwisa* if made of frilled-out bark-cloth, or *mujenga* if made of palm leaves. Accompanied by the *akwanzi*, they proceed towards *Lupanda*, each carrying a stick of smouldering wood and an unlit torch of bark-cloth.

The burning of the huts at *Ndapale* has been the sign to the *m'mbwila* that the *unli* have left; he puts round his waist a bark cloth belt, *chamba*, and a calico sash round his chest with the ends hanging down behind and on his head he wears the *lisenga* headdress made of the feathers of *chisenga*, the widow-bird. In each hand he carries the tail of gnu or zebra, held right end up, with the hollow end filled with "medicine." Thus arrayed, he goes out

861
533
539

along the path towards *Ndapala*, to meet the *unili*, accompanied by the drummers and all the women, singing:

"*Mahamba* *hasinapala* *maka*/"
"The leaves down the stream!"

When he meets the *unili*, they all throw their lighted torches at him and he flees back to *Lapanda*. The *unili* continue their procession and are brought round to the still unlit bonfire known as *chilimpuli*.

At the order of the *n'michila*, the fire is now lighted and the *unili* lie around it. The *n'michila* again appears with the drummers, and all the women and other villagers form a big circle round about. He sings:

"*Chombako* *chilumpa* *mbaja*, *wanda'wo* *chilumpapepa*/"
"The (lord) fire is now flaring up people there it is afraid of them!"

Dancing and singing them go on all night while the *unili* lie round the fire where they are allowed to sleep. As dawn approaches, the *n'michila* again sings:

"*Chanda!* *Mandiva*, *anamli*, *Amasuu* *mumasha*, *mbala*
"Please! it is crying, you girl, arrange the child, the girdle of beads round its waist
umumba *ukapapasi*/"
lest there be exposure of the person!"

Amasuu: a woman carries her child bound to her back by a piece of cloth passing under her own arms and tied in front. If the cloth gets loose, she jogs the child up higher on her back as she rearranges the cloth; this is what is meant by *amasuu*.

The *akowasi* waken the *unili* as the *n'michila* sings:

"*Kwambaliva* *maka*/"
"To nose after the scent!"

That is, he is looking about for the *ingapa*. He then leads them off to *nakampuni*, the whale, the first of the *ingapa*.

I shall first go on with an account of Mlemala's practice to the end of the ceremony and then discuss the *ingapa* in greater detail.

Arrived at *nakampuni*, the *n'michila* sings;

"*Nakampuni* *nalitonda*, *nakampuni* *naiuli* *hankiha*/"
"The whale in the pool, the whale has blocked the ford!"

after which he straddles the head of the whale while one of his assistants does the same at the tail and thus sitting, they do a kind of wriggling dance, singing to the time marked by clapping of hands:

"*Nakampuni* *atundumala, ah! ah!* (Repeat) *Apalapala* *unte handema; apalapala*
"The whale showed his back above the water, ah! There it did fall me; there
unte hanemba; *Kwa, hwa, hwa, hwa*/"
it did half break;"

3: Stanonus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

The n'wiskilo then gets off on the left side, his assistant on the right and they stand in the shallow depressions. The n'wiskilo starts asking riddles; he says, "*Ndawi* (riddle)!" and is answered by his assistant "*Jiicha* (let it come)!" Here is one:

"*Kangwe, hapite pasi!*"
"The little mouse it has defeated, it has gone into the ground!"
Answer: "*Michipa!* (roots)!"

He then goes round the crowd for the answer—if they cannot guess, they say, "*Ah ongwa,*" "it is yourself (to answer)." There are hundreds of such riddles.

The n'wiskilo points to the tusks depicted in the *chinyago* and tells the people, "Long ago this used to be an elephant; look at the tusks." The hump at its back he tells them is the name as *ching'undung'undu* which they will find further along.

They pass next to *mbundo*, the zebra; a pair, male and female, is always figured.

"*Ajiji nguti mbundo ja mbuju Ashilimasi! Yoopa pakati!*"
"This one is it not the zebra of Master Mlimasi! everything (is) beautiful!"

Sometimes a story is told to show that the zebra used to go to the sea to drink but swung the whale, he ran away and came to the country of the python.

Then to *nsia*, the python; he sings:

"*Anamto hanjingili pawe, ejo/ Yoopa pakati!*"
"You python come and answer! all (is) beautiful!"

At the crocodile, *ngwena*, he sings:

"*Chingwena ulimbo, pawe/ ejo/ ulingwena mwanyakapala mani!*"
"Mr Crocodile clevertuan, he sleeps at the side of the water!"

At *mamvi*, the mouse:

"*Anamvi ulimbo, pawe/ ejo, amani!*"
"You mouse clevertuan, !"

Next, they come to *wakilele ukoma*, the people drunk with beer. Two men lie on the ground, feet to feet with nothing on; the pudenda are covered with bark-cloth and the whole of their bodies painted with earth and flour to look like two female figures in earth. The song is:

"*Wakilele ukoma: hamkile mwanki, wakilele ukoma!*"
"Drunk with beer: come and see the woman, drunk with beer!"

A moral is pointed: the disgrace to a woman who gets drunk, lies on the ground, and exposes her person. As the n'wiskilo makes these remarks, the figures breathe stertorously as a drunken woman would. He conducts the *usili* and all the other people past many of the other images such as *chimi*, *ngulu*, *mbwanda*, *mbuli*, etc., and only stays at those he considers his own special *ingago*. The seven specially dealt with by Mlimasi were as above together with *mbalapi*, the sable antelope:

3: Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

681
533
539

"Anembetapi ulemba, penepo pakuti/"
"You cable decait, everything (is) lovely!"

Next comes *chembeko*, the ferry. There is no image but two posts represent the ferry; the *m'michila* stands on one side of the two posts with his two assistants opposite him, one holding a bunch of leaves, the other a burning log: the first fans the log of the second, using leaves as bellows, while the *m'michila* sings:

"Ngumbe, ngumbe, kujilutuka, ngumbe/"
"The female podenda, where it pushes itself!"

after which the *wuli* one by one are pushed through between the two assistants. *Chembeko* signifies the passage from one part of the ceremony to another; here, from the *inyago* to *ching'undang'unda*. *Ku-jembeka* = to cross a stream.

As they reach *ching'undang'unda* the *m'michila* sings:

"Ching'undang'unda nalilembile jingowe ngwo jakupochela wailumbe/"
"Ching'undang'unda I have marked out if it were calico distinctive of chiefs!"

One of his assistants is told to go and get a pot of beer. When it is brought he sings:

"Amuli, kamemba, mwiku kunyuma/"
"You girl, little fly, wash your hands behind you!"

881
535
539
608

This is the sign for the woman who volunteers for the service to the leader, to come forward, followed in turn, as each *mwali* is dealt with, by other women. The woman stands back to back with her *mwali* and they hold hands, while the *m'michila* comes and pours a little beer on their hands; they make movements as of washing the hands and then separate, the woman rejoining the crowd, the boy standing to one side until all have performed the rite. This woman ever afterwards is treated by the *mwali* as his adopted sister. After this, each *nkawusi* takes his *mwali* into the bush near by and holding the boy's cloth over the lad's head, he waits there for the boy's relatives to come and redeem him with fees. It is a point of honor that as many relatives as possible shall turn out to show that the boy is much liked, this being, of course, so much the better for the *nkawusi* who gets a present from each. The *nkawusi* then uncover the boys' faces and hand over the lads to their mothers who take them away to rest in the shelters.

The *m'michila*, meantime, has withdrawn to his hut, where all the relatives later collect; he then comes out holding his "tail," singing:

"Kwenda akajoja akwanongwa kupa/"
"Come and bathe those who love to bathe!"

Each adopted sister or woman guardian takes her *mwali* brother on her back and carries him off to the stream to bathe. The woman sets her *mwali* down on the bank and then leans across his back while the *m'michila* comes along and dipping his "tail" into the

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

stream, sprinkles the boy on the chest with the water. Then the positions are reversed and the woman receives the " tail " on her chest, after which they plunge into the water and bathe, each pouring water over the other. The woman rubs the boy's back and he in turn shyly rubs the back of his woman guardian. Clothes are not removed. Everyone looks on.

While this is going on, the *m'mchila* and his assistants build a kind of fence across the return road; as the people start back, he sings:

"Mote wangu akuruma namapewa wakwamba masaka!"
"Fire my they are buying I myself they give me the spirits!"

that is " everyone has got to buy from me the gifts I myself have from the spirits." As each woman comes up carrying her *mwali*, the mother runs out and makes a payment to the *m'mchila* so that her son may be allowed to pass. The boys are carried back to the shelters where they rest. The mother of the leader cooks food into which the *m'mchila* puts medicine; he then gives some to each *mwali* to eat, after which they partake of the food prepared by their mothers, while the *m'mchila* goes to the village for the beer drinking, returning in the afternoon. In the interval the dancing men dance *chambo*, etc.

Oil standing in separate basins on the ground has previously been prepared for anointing the *wali*. The *m'mchila* takes each basin and passes it across the palm of his hand on which he has smeared medicine, each basin being set down on the ground again. Taking a stick, he smears it with medicine from his " tail," and he dips it into each basin. He then comes with his " tail " to detect any woman who may have had any sexual intercourse instead of remaining continent during the stay at *Ndapala*. He dips his " tail " into each basin of oil in turn and holds it up for the oil to run off. If the oil runs off in a stream, the mother as she stands behind her basin of oil is welcomed as a good mother; if the oil runs off drop by drop, " *ndoli*," the woman is laughed to scorn. Her basin is changed for that of another woman or her oil is thrown away and some from another basin is put in its place so that no harm shall result to the boy.

The *akumasi* then take the boys into the bush near by. The *magajawias* dress is removed, the body anointed with the oil, and fresh bark-cloth dyed black is put on. Little bows and arrows are made of small branches and grass and with these the *wali* shoot as they again enter *Lupanda*, putting the bows down on *ching'undang'unda* to the trilling of all the women present.

Immediately after this, the return is made to the village, just after sunset, the women having been busy gathering up all their belongings, while the boys were being anointed.

Some of the assistants lead the procession, the *wali* following in single file, all much subdued and walking very slowly, dressed in the new bark-cloth round the loins, with many ropes of beads round the neck and body, a headband of bark, and down the back a string of beads to which is attached a tassel. Each carries in his hand a wand about five feet long, *nguwo*, with a pattern burned in the shaft and two rattles, *mawawa*, affixed at the upper end.

While the *wali* thus march solemnly along shaking their wands, the assistants begin singing:

"*Ku* *mlango* *aziwiri!*"
"To the gate they have shut!"

to which the *wali* reply:

"*Kusowa* *kuchupila!*"
"There is no place where to pass!"

The *m'michila* remains at *Lupanda* till everyone else has left; he then sets fire to the shelters and leaving without looking back, runs to overtake the procession and then leads it on towards the village still at a slow pace, while all around is a yelling crowd of delighted mothers and other relatives and the assistants and drummers, all singing and shouting.

When the outskirts of the village are reached, the *m'michila* halts and waits for the chief to come out and give them permission to enter. The chief brings calico which unrolled on the ground measures the length of the procession of *wali*. Headed now by their leader, the *wali* walk over this calico, while the assistants roll it up behind them for the *m'michila*, as it is part of his payment. Flour may be brought him at the same time, carried by the chief's wives.

At an *Unyago* I witnessed at Kuminama's, the halt was called on the bank of a stream at the edge of the village where a bamboo arch had been erected. The arrival of Chief Malemya at this point with calico and flour was the sign for a demonstration by his young men who ran forward as if in battle, firing off blank rounds from old Tower muskets and executing a kind of war dance.

After the calico has been handed over, the chief returns to his kraal and the procession continues into the village, across the village open space to the fence round the chief's house. There, the *wali* enter by a gateway and disperse over the courtyard where they find their sleeping-mats laid out ready for them by their mothers. The *m'michila* lays his "tail" on the leader's mat to bring good luck thenceforth. With Mlemala, there is no further part for the *wali*, but in some cases they are called upon by the chief to give an exhibition of their dancing and drumming. The *wali* sleep that night in the kraal and disperse the following day.

In the morning, the *m'michila* takes his "tail" and a stirring stick made from a millet stalk with the roots on it, and strikes the ground at points in a row in front of the chief's house. Here the pots of beer which have been prepared are placed in rows, those chosen by the chief and those chosen by the *m'michila*, and drinking commences. The *m'michila*, before he joins in, takes the *wali* to an ash-heap in the village and there sprinkles them with medicine from a grain-mortar after which they go with their *akuwasi* behind a house and change into new cloths. They then go and salute the chief by clapping their hands and depart to their villages, duly initiated and somewhat subdued by what they have been through. Their new names as "men" may be given them by the *akuwasi* either at *Lupanda* or after the return to the village.

3: Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

778 gives an excellent idea of the average figure; it is circular in plan, often with a little hillock in the centre known as *lutumbi kanganguli*, "the hill of debt," and disposed in the quadrants are four depressions.

881 778 When the *wali* are introduced to *Chinyasa*, they stand round in a circle while the *m'wichila* stands in one of the depressions with perhaps two of his assistants in others. The *m'wichila* sings:

533 539 *"Nyasa kanganguli chinapapwile mwamacha ninganzile kutilumbo, amao!*
"The lake enormous was I born child I would have died on the plain, mother!"
Ninganzile ninganzile!"

or

"I have lived by the great lake all my life; I should have died in the plains."

while all three make movements as of paddling a canoe. The depressions are said to represent canoes. I believe this is the recognised form but I have also seen an oblong figure with two outlines of unmistakable canoes. *Chinyasa* is usually found near *nahumpumi*.

Chiuta, when represented, stands beyond *mbanda*. It consists of two trenches at right angles forming a cross, which are covered over with logs and earth and the whole outlined with flour in a decorative pattern. The end of one limb of the cross is left open and round this opening a screen of grass is made. As the *wali* approach *Chiuta*, some of the assistants or *akamusi* descend into the trenches for the ceremony. The *m'wichila* takes up his stand at the centre of the cross and sings:

"Chiuta, amao, kwalola chiuta!"
"Chiuta, mother, come see chiuta!"

881 778 [775] Then as everyone says "Listen, listen!" crying is heard "coming out of the bowels of the earth," followed by drumming and the singing of the *chindimba* songs (sometimes *mkonde* or *wasche*); a horn is sometimes heard as well as *kululuta*, trilling with the tongue against the lips. *Chiuta* is called "the resting place of all departed spirits" and the sounds are said to be the echoes of their doings. The word is not met with elsewhere among the Yao, although it occurs in the Chinyanja and in other languages of this country with the meaning "the heavens."

Chiuuta is said by Hetherwick[1] to be "a large fish that forms one of the pictures at the *Unyago*," but I have never seen it or heard of it, and I am doubtful of the correctness of the statement.

778 [531] *Ching'undang'unda:* Dr. Davey's photograph[2] is an excellent reproduction of this figure, which consists of a mound of earth flattened on the top, and decorated with geometric patterns in flour which extend to the ground. In the centre and at the four corners, so to speak, are implanted billets of wood with decorative lines and dots in black and red on the white wood (Pl. X, figs. 1, 2). The billets are three inches in diameter and project twelve to fifteen inches above the ground.

[1] Handbook of the Yao language, op. cit., p. 141. [2] Op. cit., Pl. III, fig. 3.

[881] The evening of the first day is called *lyuwa lya mukwanwi*, or "the day of singing," as singing is kept up far into the night, but the exact significance of the word *Mkwanwi* I have been unable to find out.

[515] The second day is spoken of as *lyuwa lya mwanwa*, "the day of washing of hands," (*kwanwa*, "to wash the hands") when the *wali* are specially instructed as to the necessities of washing hands before preparing food, etc.; precept is followed by practice. The night is spent quietly; for this day's proceedings few people probably will have remained.

On the third day, however, they come back again from their villages in crowds to witness the performance of *unamu*, *lyuwa lya unamu*, "the day of house moving" (*kunamwa*, "to change one's abode, carrying goods and chattels with one"). A representation is given of an onslaught on a village by enemies and all pretend to run away carrying their worldly goods with them. The part of the attackers is played by a number of women who, armed with guns and having donned belts and powder horns, rush in on the crowd from the bush and make prisoners of all they can catch. The men are put in miniature slave-sticks; women who are seen trying to run off with a child on the back, one round the neck and one on each hip, are driven as prisoners into a group. When all the noise and fun are over, the prisoners are released. This is often followed by a mock trial. Two women dressed up to impersonate chiefs of rival tribes, argue an old, imaginary quarrel, usually pretending that there has been a raid by one party on an ivory caravan going to the coast, with stealing of the ivory, while the other party in revenge has caught and killed some of the people belonging to the first mentioned. The thing may be kept up for an hour with much talking and great zest, all those taking part being women. Finally each party agrees to give compensation for the damage done; each presents the other with bundles of sugar cane, and friendship is reëstablished. That night, everyone again rests quietly.

The fourth day is known as *lyuwa lya kwayanga* (*kwayanga*, "to go round about," referring to the dancing which goes on). Dancing takes place during the day and also the ceremony of *Lukwi* to be referred to later. One of the favorite songs sung this day runs as follows:

[533 539] "*Ndemile'ji nakumba'pinje anindo unimwo nikwapwe'pa, amwe/ anikwenga upenjimwe!*"
"(Took this) a present don't give me free wait for me little girl, dear me! and we'll have some fun together!"

On the fifth day, return is made to the villages. The girl *wali* attended constantly by their *akwanwi* then live together for the period of instruction in huts in a special enclosure in the chief's village or in similar enclosures in a number of villages. The *wali* may go out into the village but must go about with bowed head and look no man in the face; they wear bark-cloth called *kisiko* and should they meet anyone, they must pull over their faces the kind of hood with which their garments are provided. They may not share food with outsiders. If they did so, the latter would sicken with a disease called *chiumbulu*.

[753]

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

woman guardian shows to her man red and white beads in her hand and tells him that white indicates health while red means sickness, thereby pointing out to him their deep-rooted beliefs in the diseases associated with intercourse or association with women during menstruation. 881 842

Then follows a test of manhood. The women guardians put little pieces of stick (*lukwi* = sticks or firewood) on their heads and sing: [533 539]

"*Ngampe mbwampa lukwi lwa mauku'chamano lili!*"
"I must give my wife (when sick) firewood of the *mauku* although it gives lots of ashes!"

What is meant is that when his wife is ill, the husband should fetch the firewood even though he does not know which woods give least ash; the *mauku* tree gives many ashes. The little piece of wood a few inches long with a notch in the middle is then handed to the young man by his guardian. He places it on the ground in front of him, kneels down, and with a small axe he attempts to divide the stick at the notch. If he is successful, he is greeted with cheers, clapping, and much rejoicing. By proving his power to hit straight, he has also established his manhood; it is prophesied that he will soon have children. Should he miss through nervousness, shouts of derision welcome him and his guardian shows her disgust with his performance. If he is a young fellow well-liked in his village, he may be allowed to make a second attempt. After this ceremony, each couple bathes each other in their shelters by pouring water over the head and body without removing the clothes, thus making brotherhood. Forever after the man must treat this woman with great respect, must not address her for some time, and then only after making her a small present.

The woman guardian picks up the two pieces of the broken *lukwi* and on the morning before they all leave *Chiputu*, the mother or sister of the young man gives her a string of red or white beads saying, "These are to bind up the bundle of wood." The man's guardian binds up the pieces of wood with the beads and gives it to her man. When they have returned to the village, they go to the young man's wife and he presents them to her. The guardian, however, steps in and slips off the beads which she keeps, while the wife, pleased at her husband's success, drops the two pieces of wood into the fire.

During the weeks that the girl *wali* remain under instruction in the village, those young men who have been *in-lukwi* sleep in one big enclosure away from their wives and do not cohabit until after the second return from *Chiputu* is made.

Another *in-lukwi* test sometimes, I believe, introduced into Yao ceremonies but really one practised by the *Mpotola* people and not proper to the Yao, is as follows: [177]

The guardian lies on the ground, wearing a small loin-cloth, and holding beads in her clenched hands, red in one, white in the other. Her man standing at her feet, bends over her and projects saliva on to her abdomen through a rolled up leaf held between his lips, at the same time choosing one of her hands. If he chooses the hand containing the white beads, he is hailed with delight as a man indeed, but should he choose the hand containing

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

the other women joining in the refrain. A number of these songs are here given but each 843
nahenga has her own favorites which she sings. They are only sung at *Litiwo*. 843
533
539

Alitete, lisinjemi: alitete lisinjemi; Chorus *Mbiwunjiremi.*

Now you are clucking before laying an egg. Be content then, you must not be running about any more: (Chorus) Call her back for me.

Ku-tetera, " to cluck as a hen " comes from *te! te!* the sound of the hen. Another song is:

Atetereje atalo te. Chorus *Atetereje.*

You must cluck, cluck, cluck, little mouse.

A set of songs sung by Kuliati are as follows:

1. *Mtwe nguluvale, kumalambe; amaa!*
   I have a headache, surely; oh dear me!
2. *Japale, japale, chamasili, kwatuka nasanyama!*
   Startled (like a rabbit), little girl running like a wild animal.
3. *Asungula'wa walapire ulamba!*
   The rabbit they praise for its cleverness!
   Kumkawala ngalakatete kumlemba ilemba!
   He caught (the name of a little bird) and cut his hair in the *ilemba* fashion!
4. *Unaji ndiri jua mtima; ndigamile, Chenjerero apile!*
   I have a good heart; I am contented, Chenjerero has gone!
   Ajigaru mahwanigwa, amaa! achamaa!
   He has taken away all his dancing things, dear me! oh dear me!
5. *Wakwambaga'wala, lawa! wawe atulanjire tuwiala!*
   Those who are speaking (an exclamation) show us that we may see!
   Mlasi ngwila mbanga, tatemera, chikata, ngalakwe, wajaja; ngalimpalakwe wajaja!
   The bamboo has fallen with the wind, they shivered with fear (an alluvial plain), (a thing which is stuck) (well-dressed).

In native songs, full poetical license is indulged in and it is often difficult to give exact 843
translations of them. The first has reference to the woman making a fuss because she feels 539
ill with her pregnancy; this she is not supposed to do. Number 2 refers to the fact that she has a new experience which may cause her to be startled, but she need not fear. In number 3, *ngalakatete* is a bird which has a mark running back on either side of the mid-line of the crown of its head, resembling a method of hair dressing wherein two bands are shaved from front to back parallel to the mid-line. *Chenjerero* (number 4) is the name of a man but this reference is apparently now without point. Number 5 is sung by the nahenga when she hears murmurs of others in the crowd starting to sing other songs; she intimates, " Here are we singing, let us hear you others who wanted to sing; you are probably afraid now." In the latter part of this song, words are made use of which have a slang meaning known only to women. *Chikata* is a woman's slang word for the female pudenda; *ngalaka,*

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

843 538 when in child-birth there is delay in delivery it is said of the woman "*Akeleleus*," "she is stuck," from *ku-keleleus* "to be suspended, to be caught by a thorn"; *wajaja*, well dressed, is a slang exclamation meaning "everything, everything is out!" The verse refers, of course, as all obstetricians will recognize, to the moment of crowning of the oncoming head during parturition when it appears to be stuck; then suddenly it slips over the perineum and "everything, everything is out."

843 533 The *nakanga* now gives way to the songs of the other women. In different districts different versions of the songs are sung, but the other women will quickly pick up the refrain of the song sung by a woman who has come in from some distance.

843 After these songs, the *nakanga* instructs the woman and her husband in the care they must take until after the child is born. Macdonald says, speaking of the instructions "but of the quality, we prefer to be silent." [1] What a pity he allows no one else to judge!

The woman is especially cautioned against sitting with her legs crossed; they must be kept apart lest the child in her womb be suffocated. She is also told many useful things concerning her pregnancy and confinement. The husband is cautioned to cease intercourse with his wife or if he has intercourse, his wife may not lie on her back, lest the child be injured.

[751] While this instruction is going on, all the assembled women cook and eat the feast which has been made for them. When all has been said, the *nakanga* anoints the man with castor oil, which has in the meantime been warmed, and ties round the neck of the woman the *litiwo*, a cord made of plaited bark-cloth with a tassel in front; at the base of the tassel white beads are strung for good luck, and at the end of the tassel, red beads are affixed, having symbolic reference to the haemorrhage at the time of childbirth. The woman wears only a strip of calico of two hands breadth called *mletu*. She is anointed on the head, body, and limbs.

[431] The tying of the *litiwo* is the sign for dancing to begin. It is a dance in which women try to excel one another. They come with all their tattoo marks on buttocks, thighs, and abdomen renovated; they wear diaper-fashion a narrow strip of cloth, always black in color, and round their bodies numerous strings of beads. With the beginning of the dancing, their other clothes are thrown off and practically naked, they vie with one other in exhibiting their charms and skill in dancing, which afterwards becomes the subject of much discussion among the women onlookers. "So and so is really too old and skinny for such exhibition," and "So and so has buttocks as flat as a wall," while "Such and such a one is fat and beautiful and dances wonderfully, with such *ebanda*," etc. In front of the woman is set a wooden plate, in front of the man a mat, and on these are thrown donations by the dancers and onlookers, consisting of beads etc., or nowadays pennies and small silver coins to help to pay the expenses of the entertainment and, in the woman's case, to buy medicine which may be necessary should the baby fall ill. When the wedded couple are

[1] *Africana*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 128.

3: Stanzas D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

535 *Ching'wenguvu'wenga:* A soloist dances about, playing a single-string viol with a bow as he sings. His songs are all about people, village episodes full of personalities and many witticisms. Kondoni of Malemya's was a well known performer (Pl. I).

533 539 **Songs.** The following are some of the *Chindimba* songs:

1

1st voice. *Kutumbila anyasa nyumba achalanda apasa kunpi?*
To be angry the owner of the house strangers they sleep where?
2d voice. *Kutumbila anyasa nyumba Cha Nkaleka tinjiwa.*
To be angry the owner of the house (Mr.) Nkaleka I shall die.
1st voice. *Kumbanga unami ustaluwe,*
To ask me to answer lies you.
2d voice. *Kumbanga unami Cha Mwenga,*
To ask me to answer lies master,
1st voice. *Alamwa tingenda tipepo,*
Brother-in-law I will go thus,
2d voice. *Alamwa tingenda tipepo.*
1st voice. *Awala wanache apile mchikuwa,*
There (go) the children they go on all fours.
2d voice. *Oh lelo'jo tinjiwa.*
Oh today I shall die.
Chorus. *Kutumbila anyasa nyumba!*

The burden of the song is: We see we are not wanted here; better we went away!

2

1st voice. *Ah lijuni'wa kala kala kupaka tukapochaja lelo'ja!*
Ah baboon these jumping jumping to enjoy he is going to enjoy today!
2d voice. *Ah lijuni'wawa! kupaka tukapochaja wanache!*
Ah the baboon these to enjoy he is going to enjoy child!
Chorus. *Kulpa mbanga apa nyamu!*
to eat (seed) pods of dryness!

"Seed pods of dryness" is also referred to in a story of the baboon. When he is dozing at night sitting on a tree, he hears a seed-pod in the neighborhood crack, and wishing to mark the spot, so that he may go and eat the seed in the morning, he stretches out one arm in this direction and goes to sleep again, to be awakened by the sound of another cracking pod; whereupon he puts out another limb to mark that spot. Presently, he has all but one limb including his tail set out as sign-posts. Half awake he starts to put out the one remaining limb, and falls off the tree.

533
539

3

1st voice. *Atindili nlututa ngunga pilele ejo wakulukuu,*
potatoes guinea fowl ooh! thank you you,
2d voice. *Atindili nlututa akundunda atiyuna'uo munaja.*
potatoes they are calling me Atiyuna there is going away home;
Chorus. *Kwunda, akuhukile!*
Remove the hoe from its handle!

The name of any person may be introduced into these songs, sometimes the name of a member of the village or of some person well known in the district. To introduce a name thus is *ku-lupuka*. *Eja!* is an exclamation of thanks; when receiving anything, both hands are held out, and the words *eja, eja, eja!* or *nanga, nanga!* are uttered.

4

1st voice. *Makalowele 'pahle anuko apalapala ngunapunda ngiwuuko.*
The millet have eaten locusts you place did not plant not.
2d voice. *'Ohle anuko apalapala ngunapunda myunga, atati, ngwuuko!*
Have eaten locust you place did not plant rice, father, not!
2d voice. *Apalapala ngunapunda myunga, atati, ngwuuko!*
1st voice. *Apalapala ngunapunda myunga, atati, ngwuuko!*
Chorus. *Makalowele, pahle anuko!*

Makalowele: after the first crop of millet has been taken in, the stalks are cut off near the ground and the roots allowed to remain in the soil. Next season, they again sprout and yield a second crop. This second year growth is makalowele. [241]

5

1st voice. *Mazimbe n'chinguumbe chilo chilo chilwe chilo chilo!*
Lions in the palm-trees at night, etc.
2d voice. *Mazimbe n'chinguumbe, kuvimba likwata Atiyuna! Tinjiwe chilo chilo etc.*
Lions in the palm-trees to sing likwata Atiyuna! I shall die tonight, tonight, etc.
Chorus. *Mazimbe n'chinguumbe!*

Likwata is the name of a dance, *Atiyuna* is a woman's name. Cf. "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die."

6

1st voice. *Ndundue, ndundo, ndundue!* Repeat.
Teasing, teasing, teasing!
2d voice. *Nalolaga chilundo kundo, nundundo'ue, ngwunde!*
If you have teasing teasing, me tease me, I am going away!
Chorus. *Ndundue!*

7

533 539

1st voice. *Wakwambaga'wala mmmu/ akukukumala*
The one whom we were talking about, have he is! that thing which happened some-
time ago, the day after tomorrow!
2d voice. *Akipasa mmanjo akukukumala, ndida/*
(a name) is going that thing which happened some time ago, I am off!
Chorus. *Kampa njala umwa mmmu'wala/*
You give salt who has lies (lied to) you!

The meaning of this is: " If a man comes along who has done you an ill in the past and is just as likely to do so again, should you be inclined to reward his lies by giving him hospitality? Better to go away and leave him alone."

8

1st voice (male). *Kapaleli'ko kwenda, akajenguwe/*
The little lip ring that, come and wash it! Repeat.
2d voice. *Kapaleli'ko, wanganya, kwenda akajenga lelo/*
The little lip ring that, you folk over there, come and wash them today!
1st refrain. *Katukutenda mmmu/*
Lest it turn into bumble-bee honey!
1st voice (female). *Ambi ndewa nguu/*
What about beard your? Refrain.
2d voice. *Ambi ndewa nguu atali?*
What about beard your father? Refrain.
2d refrain. *Tukutenda mulendo/*
Lest it turn into *mulendo*/ (part of a maize cob).

9

1st voice. *Achimbukila mali mkundo/*
Why are you crying eh! the cause?
2d voice. *Ningwenicho kumwenyene'ko/*
I will take her to her own home there!
Chorus. *Kwenjelo ngenje/*
I am going to look for home!

This refers to a troublesome wife. " Let her go back to her mother and the husband will go about his own business."

10

1st voice (woman). *Ukwakwakuga wankukila ni ngenji akikukupile'cha/*
If I were not discouraged then I would have been still trusting! Repeat.
2d voice (man). *Ukwakwakuga wankukila ni ngenji'wa katukwa/ katukwa/*
If I were not discouraged then I should have been saying beer! beer!
Katukwa katukwa katukwa ankwa/
Beer, beer, beer, dear me!